

Nimuendajá: The Eastern Timbira

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648 about fifteen, was waiting for me, and her first words were: "Imagine that Guaja-
 291 jára not feeling ashamed to go to the plaza in that style!" In other words, it was the
 123 clothed Guajajára who should have been abashed before us naked men, not vice versa.

574 The Ramkô'kamekra at first treated their visitors as boon companions. How to
 291 behave toward the slender, little and bashful women guests was a question, but the
 186 men were at once taken into the festive clubs and cordially invited to take part in
 all ceremonies, but without their trousers and loincloths. The hosts repeatedly
 urged their visitors to go naked, but the Guajajára always sheepishly evaded. The
 Canella took their guests bathing, in the expectation that then at last they would
 shed their clothes, but the Guajajára remained on dry land, merely watching from
 the bank. That was going too far, so the Canella secretly began mocking the
 visitors and gradually it dawned upon them that the strangers did not fit into
 their festive company and had to be got rid of before the beginning of the grand
 closing ceremony. Forthwith the councilors decided to cut off their provisions and
 simultaneously to tell them untruthfully that the ceremony would not start before
 ten days. Sure enough, José Rosá appeared in the plaza three days later, announc-
 ing that he was very sorry not to be able to wait, that he had to look after his crops,
 and would leave the following morning, which he did, liberally supplied by his
 hosts with victuals for the journey.

292 All other bands worn around the forehead (pls. 9, a-g; 10 a), neck, chest, and
 826 waist (pl. 11, a, b), upper arm, wrists (pl. 11, c, d; cf. pl. 13, b), knees and ankles are
 not in constant use, but associated with ceremonial decoration, though a few young
 men like to appear with at least part of these paraphernalia on everyday occasions
 (pl. 3, c, d). No Canella dreams of putting on his knee bands (reddened with urucú
 like all decorative articles) with any great regularity from childhood on in order
 to affect the musculature of his legs. Such procedure would merely result in a still
 greater protrusion of the calves comparable to its effects among the ancient Island
 Caribs with their rigid bands; it certainly would not give to the lower leg "the
 desired slenderness" as Martius was told—presumably only to rationalize the name
 Canellas finas (p. 29).¹²²

302 *Hair.*—Except for the Western Gaviões and the tribes which, like the Gurupy
 [177] groups and the Kre'pu'mkatéye, have adopted the Neobrazilian style, all Eastern
 Timbira of both sexes and all ages dress their hair in identical fashion. Irrespective
 of mourners and people otherwise in seclusion, there were only two old people in
 Ponto who failed to cut their hair.

The hair is cut rather high on the forehead, close, and in a horizontal line. At
 the temples of the upraised head the trimmer continues to cut on both sides in an
 accurately horizontal line but so as to leave a distance of about 4 cm. between the
 ends of the lines cut, this space being called *krāyimók*. The hair is cut in a width
 of about one centimeter. Where the two hair furrows meet the forehead on either
 side, the lower corners are rounded off somewhat by removal of hair. Unless
 smoothed with oil, the coarse, stiff Indian hair then rises more or less shaggy above
 the furrows, simulating at a distance a cap. The hair about the temples is cut off
 at the level of the auditory meatus, so that it forms a sort of ear muff (*yiré*). The
 occipital hair (*krākatút*) is allowed to grow long, but its length greatly varies with
 individuals, sometimes descending almost to the waist.

Strangely enough, neither Pohl nor Snethlage has noted the occipital gap in the
 hair furrow that distinguishes Eastern from Western (=Apinayé) Timbira style.¹²³

¹²² Spix and Martius, 2:822.¹²³ Nimuendajá, *The Apinayá*, 169.

1 [i.e. the chief of the Guajajára --- Analyst.]

Nimuendajá: The Eastern Timbira

149

524 and they only rarely. The stilts are of burity leaf-stems and stepped so that the feet are at most 40 cm. above the ground. The part above the footrest is tied to the outside of the lower leg.

Cat's cradle.—Both young girls and young men make string figures, but those really conversant with cat's cradle are relatively few in number. I noticed ten distinct figures.

Dances.—The dances described above (p. 114 ff.) are the only social games of these Indians.

WAR AND PEACE

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181 *Relations with outsiders.*—The Eastern Timbira are not nearly so amiable and peaceable toward outsiders as are the Apinayé. The highest goal of their social organization seems to have been to preclude any breach of internal peace, so that intratribally theft is rare and murder almost unknown; but in former times such conduct was apparently permitted toward aliens—a probable correlate of their greater or lesser hostility toward virtually all neighboring tribes. Traces of this ancient attitude may occasionally be observed even today with reference to Neobrazilian neighbors, especially among the Krikati and Pukóbye. On the other hand, the mutual relations of the several tribes, though still far removed from a sense of national solidarity, have unquestionably improved. The point is simply that the native tribes no longer inspire one another with fear, while the latent animosity between Indians and Neobrazilians has remained uniform during the last hundred years or so.

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721 At all events the Krahô' until 1809, the Ramkô'kamekra until 1814, the Krikati and Pukóbye for about two decades after that, were all living in incessant feuds with both aboriginal and Neobrazilian neighbors.

Per qualquer ciume sobre limites de terras, sobre as caças, ou sobre os frutos de uma arvore, tornando-se implacaveis inimigos, fazem-se carnagens tão horrorosas, que chegam a destruir-se inteiramente.

(Through some jealousies over territorial boundaries, over hunting or the fruits of some tree, they become inexorable enemies and execute such horrible massacres as completely to destroy one another.)^m

In the chapters dealing with conquest, colonization, and the history of the several tribes I have brought together details concerning these feuds (pp. 4 ff., 13 f.).

As for the Ramkô'kamekra specifically, their relations with neighboring groups were as follows:

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[186] The Guajajara to the northwest are recognized as ancient enemies, though details as to former wars were no longer ascertainable. Possibly this animosity failed to assume extreme forms because the Ramkô'kamekra had no hankering for the forested territory of the Guajajara. These in turn never ventured out into the steppes, dreading and abhorring the Ramkô'kamekra and indeed all the Timbira, who requited the sentiment with contempt. As late as 1901, during the Guajajara uprising, this opposition expressed itself in the readiness, not to say zeal, with which the Ramkô'kamekra and the Kre'pu'mkateye marched against the insurgents. As previously noted, competition for the supply of arrow cane in the north at the Caxoeira da Canna Braba of the Mearim led to occasional feuds between the Ramkô'kamekra and the Krêyé of Bacabal. According to Ribeiro, the Ča'kamekra to the northeast were bitter enemies until 1814, when they inflicted upon our tribe a defeat that drove it into the arms of the Neobrazilians. Later the two groups made peace and finally fused. The Gamella of Codó, farther northeastward, who were not

^m Ribeiro, *Memoria*, § 9.